An Impartial Relation of

All the Transactions

BETWEEN THE

Army of the Confederates,

And That of the

French King,

In their Last Summers

Campaign in Flanders

With a more particular Respect to the

Battle of Fleury.

The Character of the Generals, and the Reasons of that most unhappy Miscarriage.

With a List of the Great Officers Slain.

Also, Observations on the grand Consultations at the *Hague*; and the New Measures that are taking for the Opening the ensuing Campaign, compared with Those of the Last.

To which are added;

Brief Instructions and Encouragement to those *English* Gentlemen, that are going over to Serve in the approaching Campaign: Also, A short Description of the *Spanish Netherlands*.

By W. Sawle, *Chaplain to One of Their Majesties Regiments in* Flanders.

Licensed, JAMES FRASER. and Entred.

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The PREFACE.

I Never did design that these Papers of mine should be made Publick, or be put into the Press: They were only Written for the Private Satisfaction of a particular Friend; but by his means, unknown to me, were almost all Printed before I came to understand it: However, I assure the Reader, That this little Pamphlet contains nothing but what was asserted to be True by the best Officers of the Army; and what may conduce to encourage the Soldiers of my Country to be Brave against the Common Enemy of the best part of Europe, *(especially of our Nation) who was never well Beaten but by the* English; *and which Honour is still, I hope, reserved for Us, the next Campaign.*

However, if the Men of War may not think it worth their while to read it over; yet, 'tis very probable, it may afford some Diversion to those who love to be at Quiet at Home, and settle Kingdoms over a Dish of Coffee, *and Beat Armies with a Whiff of* Tobacco.

'Tis not Here, in the least, my Design, nor yet my Capacity, to lay open the Faults of the Dutch *Cavalry: I am almost perswaded, those Troopers, Man for Man, would be too hard for the* French: *And the Saying of a Great Man of War was somewhat severe upon them, when he declared,* That if he had a mind to take a Lease of a Man's Life, it should be a *Dutch* Troopers: *But I don't doubt, but that the last Summers Error will give them more Courage and Skill in This which follows; And their a little too hasty Retreat at* Fleury, *will be but as a Recoyl to Rush on upon the* French *again with greater Violence this Campaign.*

As for the French, *notwithstanding their outward Boastings, and brave Pretences, I am sure they are almost at their last Prayers; and 'tis very hard with them at Home, as well as 'tis in the Army: And notwithstanding their Balls, their Masks, their Gayeties and Triumphs at* Versaile; *yet, Sir* Charles Sidley's

Speech will reach them There too, and that with a Witneſs, viz. That although they ſeem to look at Court ſo well in the Face, yet the Kingdom in general is Sick at the Heart; *and though the Courtiers charge theſe hard Times, Arm'd* Cap-a-pe; *yet the poor Countrymen, who maintain thoſe Habiliments, and can have them, are Shot through and through.*

And indeed, their Deſerters and Refugees, which very often come to our Garriſons, give a Melancholy Deſcription of the Hardſhips which their Troops often ſuffer; and would be very well contented to ſtay with us, and take part in our Army, but that they can never faſhion themſelves to live well at eaſe out of their own Country, unleſs it be at London: *In a word, if there was ever any probability of reducing the* French *Inſolencies, it muſt be now, when ſo many Princes will puſh ſo vigorouſly againſt them, with all their Force, this following Campaign. And without doubt, the Army of* Britains, *which this Year we ſhall have againſt them, will give them the greateſt concern they have met with this long time; and I am confident, the other Confederate Princes will follow them ſo cloſe, as they will find them to be truly in earneſt for the time to come. In the mean while, let us take notice, that Arms and Armies, Stores and Arſenals, fenced Cities, and great Fleets, can ſignifie very little, unleſs Providence ſhall Bleſs our Endeavours; and there is but one way of obtaining the Aid of the Almighty Arm, and that is, by Believing in Him, with an Obedience to his Will and Holy Laws.*

'Twas an excellent and brave Deſcription, which Ovid *gives of the Great* Hector, *when he ſuppoſes the whole* Greek *Army to be diſordered at his Preſence, in this Verſe,* Hector adeſt ſecumq; Deos in Pratia ducit; *That when* Hector *came to Battle, he had the Gods preſent with him: And truly, if ſo, and thoſe were True Gods, he had no need to doubt of a Victory; for he could not chuſe but Conquer. So true is that which the Warlike* David *knew, by the beſt Experience, and deeply to be conſidered by all Chriſtian Soldiers,* That Bleſſed are the People, whoſe God is the Lord.

A True

A True ACCOUNT of all the Tranſactions of the laſt Summers Campaign in the *Spaniſh*-Netherlands, *&c.*

'TIS none of my buſineſs, at this time, to write the Reaſons, why ſo many Princes ſhould be now Armed againſt the *French* King: Any one who has but little Judgment in Human Affairs, or is any way concern'd for the good of his Country, muſt needs know: And indeed 'twas high time for us, of this Nation to take the Alarm, and to look to our ſelves, ſeeing the great Storm, which ſo much threatned others, if not timely provided againſt, would fall, at laſt, more heavily on us, though we ſeem to be at a greater diſtance.

The Emperor, the Duke of *Savoy*, the Princes Electors, the Princes of *Hannover* and *Lunenburgh*, the States General, the *Spaniſh* King; and, which is more conſiderable than any one of the reſt, the King of *Great Brittain*: I ſay, all the Forces of theſe Princes, by Land or Sea, have as yet bin ſo far from making any great Impreſſions on that one Monarch, that he ſeems as yet to be greater than at firſt; and his Arms thus far have had the Advantage; but the firſt *Winners* are generally the laſt *Loſers*: And I don't doubt, but that their late Braveries, and little Succeſſes, will be as

ſo many Alarms to awake the Fury of the Confederates, and prick them on to early, vigorous, and preſſing undertakings this next Campaign. The *French* indeed are at the beck of one, They are very quick and alert for Execution, and the great Fortune of their Grand *Lewis*, both open and fraudulent, for ſo long a Time, againſt ſo many Princes, their making War in their Enemies Countries, the raiſing of vaſt Contributions, their burning of Villages, and daily Plunders, have raiſed ſuch a Vain-glorious Spirit in their Men of War, as to think that nothing can ſtand before them, and that they are, as it were, born to be Lords of *Europe*; but I am very confident, ſhould their proſperous Sun-ſhine look but once a little Cloudy, and they were but well beaten in a Battle or two, their inſolent Temper would ſoon ſhrink into a ſlaviſh Fear; and the miſerable conſequences of Diſtruſt, Mutiny, and Cowardlineſs, would crowd thick upon them.

Now, I hope, this Honour is reſerved for the Subjects of my Nation, who have bin the only People in the World that have beſt talked with the *French* with Sword in hand, and given the greateſt Checks and Corrections to their daring Confidence: And ſeeing then that the King of *England*, as he is Prince of *Orange*, is Captain General of all the Forces of the United Provinces, and hath ſeveral *Engliſh* Regiments now actually in the Service of the States; ſeeing we, of this Nation, are ſo much intereſted in the War, and becauſe the buſineſs of this laſt Campaign was of the greateſt moment, little being done in the firſt, againſt the *French*, but what was done by the *Engliſh*; ſeeing the *Hollanders*, notwithſtanding all their pretentions to Hardineſs and Valour, have ſcarce bin yet able to oppoſe the *French*, without moſt obliging helps from the good-natur'd *Engliſh*; and becauſe we *Britiſh* Regiments, laſt Summer, had not the Honour to be at the Battle of *Fleury*, which was the great buſineſs of the laſt Campaign,

paign, but was chiefly managed by the *Dutch* Army, I ſhall come to the main thing which I here deſign, to wit, to give you a particular account of the Tranſactions of the laſt Summer; for the better performance of which, I have made my chief buſineſs to know the particulars, from the beſt, moſt able, and moſt skilful Gentlemen, who had not little ſhare in thoſe Grand Affairs.

The Prince of *Waldeck*, who is a *German*, and Related to the King, ſupplies the Place of His Majeſty of *England*, and Commands the Forces of the States General, is about the Age of Seventy, very little inclining to Fat, and of a handſome Stature, but ſomewhat ſtooping under the great weight of Age and War: A Prince ſecond to none in Military Affairs, and is worthily eſteem'd one of the greateſt Captains of his Age: He hath not had the Reputation of a very Fortunate General; but this ought rather to be imputed to the Forces which he Commanded, than to any deficiency in his Skill or Courage: His great Age doth not in the leaſt hinder him from the moſt Toilful Cares: He very ſeldom goes to Bed till Twelve at Night, and is commonly dreſſed and ready by Five in the Morning, either to ſend forth Scouts and Spies, or to receive them; or to examine Draughts and Maps, and Grounds and Paſſes; or for Council, or to give neceſſary Orders to his Army: His Parts are as freſh and vigorous as ever; he gives the beſt Reaſons for what he doth of any Man living: If he hath any Fault, 'tis for having ſomewhat in him of the old *Roman Fabius*; and ſticks too cloſe to his Art and Rules.

Under him, in the laſt Spring, the Campaign began to be opened about the 14*th* of *May*, towards the Country of *Namur*; and after three or four Marches, and about the 12*th* of *June*, his Forces being about 25000 Fighting Men, he Encamped his Army nigh a Village called *Fleury*, on a great

and a plain Corn-Field, than which, there is ſcarce a more Fertile ſpot of Ground in *Europe*, and now made more Luxurious by the Blood of one of the greateſt Battles, according to the number of Men, that hath bin Fought in theſe Parts this great while.

Not much above Four Miles from this Place, is the River *Sambre*, Fordable in moſt Places in the Summer, but bounded very much on both ſides with craggy Banks, and thick Woods; on the other ſide of this River lay Encamped the *French* Army, Commanded by the Famous Monſieur Duke *d' Luxemburgh*; the number of his Army not much exceeding that of the States: He is of the Ancient and moſt noble Family of *Montmorancy*, about the Age of Fifty, prodigiouſly ill-ſhaped and deformed in his Perſon, but Skilful, Haughty, Politick and Brave. Now, beſides the main Bodies or ſtanding Forces on each ſide, there are alſo Two *Camp-Volants*, or *Flying Armies*, conſiſting of Eleven or Twelve Thouſand Men each; that of the *French*, Commanded by Marſchal *D' Humiers*; ours of the Confederates, ſometimes by Prince *Vaudemont*, but commonly by the Marquis *D' Caſtanaga*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, in his own Perſon. Theſe Flying Armies are for ſudden Onſets, or for ſeizing of Paſſes or Towns, or elſe for joyning the main Army on all occaſions: They conſiſt generally of good Horſe and Dragoons, and are ſeldom Encamped above ten or twelve hours March from the main Body: Now, *D' Humiers* being not above ten Leagues, or hardly ſo much, from Monſieur *Luxenburgh*, *Caſtanaga* was to obſerve his Motion.

The Forces of *England*, in this Country, the firſt Campaign were conſiderable, but the Horſe, and five Regiments of Foot being called for Home, we had only Six Battallions left, which, except one, which was at *Mechlin*, were all in Garriſon at *Ghent*; the Regiment of *Schonberg*, Commanded by

by Sir *Robert Douglas*; Two Battallions of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Guards; The Regiment of *Hodges*, and the Regiment of *D' Offerel*: Our Commander in chief was Major General *Tolmach*. We had Orders to March and joyn Prince *Waldeck*, above a Fortnight before the Battle, but our Money coming not timely enough from *England*, and we having contracted ſome Debts in that City, could not conveniently be permitted to March till our Money came. Indeed, if we had bin at the Battle, we could have done no great good; 'tis very probable, in having our Poſt of Honour, we might have bin all cut off in an Army which was left immediately without Horſe.

The Army of the Duke of *Brandenburgh* down towards the *Moſelle*, had the Year before, taken the ſtrong Garriſon of *Bonn*, and was now Marching to Beſiege another Cittadel, called *Mont Royal*, whom our Army was to cover: Affairs ſtanding in this Poſture, and Monſieur *Luxenburgh* knowing, that without a Battle their Towns would be pick'd away by degrees, one after another, was reſolved to Fight, or elſe the *Brandenburgh* Army could not be hindered; yet he would be ſure ſo to order his Buſineſs, that he would not Fight unleſs with an advantagious Policy: He therefore ſends a ſtrict Expreſs to Marſchal *D' Humiers*, to this Effect:

My Lord,

I Have no need to tell you my Deſign; I deſire that immediately, on ſight hereof, you would ſend your Baggage, that you can conveniently ſpare, into our Neighbouring Garriſons; let your Camp ſtand in the ſame manner as it is, leave only 3000 *Foot to Guard it; and give Orders, that no Perſon whatſoever ſhall paſs in or out, upon pain of Death, till you have Hors'd all the Men that poſſibly you can, and have joyned with my Army.*

Army. I hope you will March without any delay: Do this, and the reſt you ſhall know when you come to my Camp.

According to theſe Orders Marſchal *D' Humiers* Equips his Detachment on a *Wedneſday* Even, and a *Thurſday* Afternoon joyned *Luxenburgh*, juſt as his advanced Horſe began to paſs the *Sambre:* In the mean time the Spies and Scouts of *Caſtanaga* being careleſs, and not going farther than in ſight of the other Camp (having often ſeen it) and not dreaming of the Policy in hand, might ſee their Tents pitched, and ſtanding as before in the ſame order as when they firſt Encamped; ſo that the Spies returned well ſatisfied, that all things were at quiet, and that the Enemies poſture was even as at the firſt: But on *Friday* about Noon, when the diſmal noiſe of Cannon, and the unceſſant Vollies of a mortal Engagement had Proclaim'd the Deſign, *Caſtanaga* was too late Alarmed; the reſt of the *French* Camp removed in the Night, and the Battle was over and loſt before 'twas in his Power to Arrive half the way.

Indeed, in this Adventure, Monſieur *Luxenburgh* run'd a great Riſque, and yet ſuch as 'twas neceſſary for him to do; for if *Caſtanaga*, as he had with him excellent Regiments of *Lunenburgh* and *Hannover* Horſe, with the young Prince of *Hannover* himſelf; I ſay, if he had known the motion of *D' Humiers*, and Marched after him, ſo as to come at that time when the Battle was begun, and have fallen on the Rear; or elſe if he had come in to Prince *Waldeck* when the *Dutch* Horſe began to run, it would ſoon have Rallied the Loping *Dutch* Horſe, unleſs they were poſſeſſed with more than a pannick Fear, turned the day upon the *French*, and muſt needs have given them a great Repulſe. It is reported, That none can have better Intelligence than the *French* Generals, becauſe they give more to Spies than uſually others do;

do; they Fee them after an extraordinary liberal manner; which, as I have bin told, is somewhat neglected in the States Army. Prince *Waldeck* had either very few Spies out, or else they who were sent, were not skilful enough to give warning of the great encrease of the *French* Army: The Prince, indeed, was not surprised as to the main; he had sufficient notice that the Duke *D' Luxenburgh* was passing the *Sambre*, and would not be perswaded to oppose his Attempt: He thought his Army as good as that of the *French*, and indeed to outward appearance they always were: Few Soldiers having better Aspects than the *Dutch* Troopers, if their Hearts were but so good. The Prince knew his Army to be well rested, free from fatiegue, in Health, and to look well and promising: He had the advantage of Sun, Wind, and Ground; and if his Army would but do as Soldiers ought, he could not well be beaten; but if Soldiers won't Fight, 'tis no fault of the Generals if the Victory be lost. The Troops that could best be spared were left with *D' Humiers*, in case of necessity, to Guard the Passes, and make good the Retreat again over the River.

Their Army having all passed, very early in the Morning, put themselves in Array, as the Ground would give leave to March to the *Dutch*. The States Army was drawn skilfully up in two Lines: The *Holland*'s Horse on the left, being most in number, were Commanded by the Brave Prince of *Frizland*, the Grave *Van Nassau*, Lieutenant General *Aylva*, and Count *Fladorf*, all said to be brave and experienced Men of War: The Right was mostly *Spanish* or *Flanders* Horse, Commanded by the Brave Count *D' Tubee*, than whom, 'tis said, there is scarce a better Horseman living: The main Battle was guided by the Prince himself. The Battle began first on the Right: The *Spaniards* had the Post of Honour, and did what Men of Honour ought to do: They first of all received

ceived the *French* Fury, and then Charged through them with ſuch Courage and Bravery, three or four times, that they ſoon brake them, though more in number by far, and made themſelves Maſters of Eight Pieces of the *French* Cannon.

But here comes the misfortune of all; The *French*, who pretty well knew the *Dutch* Horſe, had placed againſt them their *Gens d' Arms*, the choice of the Kings Houſhold, and, as 'tis ſaid, 2000 Gentlemen Volunteers, than which, they ſay, unleſs among the *Germans*, there are ſcarce their Equals: They advanced againſt the *Hollanders* with Sword in hand; at the ſight of which, without ſo much as Firing of Carabin or Piſtol, maugre all the Threats and Perſwaſions of their skilful Generals and great Officers, they turned tail, and ran all away; which gave leiſure enough to ſome of thoſe Conquering Squadrons to go and help their Brethren on the Right; ſo that *Tubee*, with his 2000 Horſe, for he had no more, was ſoon over-powered; ſo that ſoon the States Infantry were left all naked, both on Right and Left, without any Horſe to cover them: However, they were reſolved to do like Men of Honour, and to ſell their Lives at the deareſt rate they could, and accordingly caſt themſelves into the moſt requiſite Poſtures; ſo that the Enemy, by their cloſe and punctual Fire, were ſo often Galled and Shattered they knew not what to do; the *French* Infantry could not ſo much as dare look them in the face; could the *Dutch* be left alone to them, they would eſteem them as nothing: The Carnage, the mean while, was great on both ſides: The *French* Horſe were forced to rally their Foot ſeveral times, and to bring them up under their Covert; till at laſt being over-powered by too vaſt Bodies, both of Horſe and Foot, and ſome of their own Cannon being turned upon them, they were at laſt Beaten, and forced to yield to unequal numbers: The

Regi-

Regiments which defended the Cannon, were almoſt all cut off, and whole Battallions, ſcorning to turn, were cut down almoſt Rank and File as they ſtood; ſo that the Foot fighting ſo brave, though the *French* had almoſt two Horſe for one, if the *Dutch* Troops had but again Rallied, and but in a manner only ſhewed themſelves about again in Order, the *French* had bin really diſmayed, and would have made their beſt ſhifts to have quitted the Field; but they were gone and ſcattered, and rather than helping, fell to the Plundering of the *Vivandeers* of their own Army. The Battle began on *Friday* the 13*th* of *June*, as I take it, about One a Clock in the Afternoon, and the Evening drawing on, the General, with his beſt Skill, endeavoured to bring off what Battallions he could, and Marching away by Night towards *Nivelle*, by hard Paſſes, he came and Encamped on the other ſide of the *Canall* of *Bruſſels*, which looks towards *Machlin* or *Holland*.

The *French* loſt in the Battle, notwithſtanding their Conqueſt, nigh 5000 Men; a great many of their Officers being Buried in the Church at *Fleury*, as I was informed by the Prieſt of the Pariſh; and the heaps of their Dead lay very thick over all the Field. The *Dutch* had as many Killed, and a great many Wounded, beſides above 7000 taken Priſoners: They loſt their Cannon and Copper Boats, all their Artillery Waggons, and moſt of their Baggage; and left the Spoil and Plunder of the Field to the Conquering *French*: And now a great Conſternation was preſently ſpread over all the *Netherlands*, and People began immediately to fear what great Progreſs the *French* might make in purſuit of their Victory; ſome thought they would March and Beſiege *Charleroy*, which was reported, at that time, to be but ill Stored: Others thought they would preſs on and follow the broken Army of the States General; and moſt, that they

would try to force *Caſtanaga*, but none of theſe ſurmiſes happened; the *French* Army ſtay'd nigh Three Weeks near the place where they won the Battle. They had receiv'd a ſevere Blow in getting the Victory; their Army muſt be again refreſhed and recruited, which would take up ſome time; that the *Camp-Volant* of *Caſtanaga* was ſtrong and firm, conſiſting of 13000 ſtrong, and could, in ſpight of them, retire and joyn *Waldeck*.

Immediately, upon the Loſs of the Battle, the States had ſent a Paſſionate Expreſs to the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, who, with his Army, lay towards the *Moſelle*, That he would be pleaſed to March with all ſpeed and joyn their Army, or to lye nigh them, to be able to aſſiſt on all occaſions; and thoſe all joyned together would make a Formidable Body. The *French* indeed aſſay'd, if they could, to hinder their joyning, but it came to nothing, the Elector Marching another way than what they imagined.

In the mean while, we the *Britiſh* Brigade, were Ship'd on *Bilanders*, at *Ghent*, on the River *Scheld*, and in three or four days came to a place called *Vilvord*, on the *Canall* of *Bruſſels*, about two Leagues from the City, and not above a Mile and half from the Camp of Prince *Waldeck*: It was not thought convenient for us to take our Poſts, and to Incorporate in the Army in one Camp, but we were alotted a Piece of Ground by our ſelves, at a Village called *Park*, towards the ſaid Caſtle of *Vilvoord*: This is an Ancient Palace or Cittadel, now very Ruinous, eſpecially on the Inſide; and by its Ruines, Height, Compaſs, and Scituation, ſhows it was the Place of great Perſonages; but in theſe latter Times, 'tis very Famous for being the Noble Priſon of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: If any great Courtier, or Lord, or any Governor of a Town, or conſiderable Officer of an Army, ſhall be ſuſpected of Falſhood, or Betraying his Truſt, he, without any noiſe,

noiſe, is preſently ſeized, and ſent to this Caſtle, where he muſt undergo ſtrict Impriſonment, and a ſtricter Tryal. In former Times they had there a ſtrange Contrivance for a ſtrange, ſuddain, and barbarous Execution, having a great Wheel in the bottom of the Priſon, ſo that the Priſoner being brought into a Room juſt over it, not thinking what might happen, perhaps as he ſate at Dinner, and not at all knowing of his Condemnation, the Chamber, like a Scene, would, on a ſuddain, be opened into Two Parts, and immediately the Condemned would fall into the under Engine, and, in a ſhort time, be torn to pieces, and never be more heard of: But this way of Proceeding and Puniſhment is now left off, though ſtill this State Inquiſition is very ſevere, and there is but ſmall hopes of any one that is caſt into it.

Here it was that I firſt ſaw the *Dutch* Army this Campaign, about five or ſix days after the Battle: The Battallions of Foot looked thin, and grievouſly changed; and *Bruſſels* was crowded up with Wounded Men: The Horſe indeed look'd as they were wont, and pretty well gathered together, as having a far better way of Self-preſervation: Here we Encamp'd above four Weeks, till Prince *Waldeck* had ſent off the ſhattered Regiments, and had received new from the Frontier Garriſons, with Cannon, Boats, Artillery and Waggons, as was neceſſary. The Country all about *Bruſſels* is exceeding Pleaſant and Fruitful; the City is large, very thick Peopled, and full of Coaches and all ſorts of Gallantry *a la mode* of *France*; and the *French* Language is ſpoken there by the meaneſt Tradeſmen: 'Tis very Hilly, which in theſe Countries is a great Rarity: The Pallace and the Park ſtand on the higheſt Ground, and ſeem to overlook the reſt; the Park is but little, but ſweet and beautiful, beſides Adorned with ſome of the fineſt Water-works in *Europe*: There is alſo the Royal Armory, which moſt Travellers that come

into those Parts desire to see; wherein are curious rarities and devices in Armour, and Trophies, and Banners, and Standards of the Ancient Earls and Governors of *Flanders*, and Kings of *Spain*.

When the Army was recruited, and all necessaries made up, and every thing put in order, about the 23*d* of *July* we had orders to March, and Encamp'd that day at a place called *Overiisk*, where we of the *English* joyned the *Dutch* in order, had our Post of Honour on the Right, and made a very pretty addition to their Lines: Here it was, that one might well perceive a very good alteration in the face of our General: He look'd sad, discontented, and pensive after the Battle; and was heard to say, That he wish'd he also had fallen among so many Brave Men as he had lost at *Fleury*, but that he hop'd *GOD* had spared him for a greater Revenge; so that nothing could have pleased him more at that time, than to see his Army again look Vigorous and Strong, and himself put into such a condition as to be able once more, before the Summer was over, to return Monsieur *Luxenburgh* his former kindness. We stayed in this Camp but one Night, we Decamped the next Morning, and came to a Place, a pretty Village called *Wauvre*, where, in a most delightful Valley, about Three in the Afternoon, we came to the Camp of his Electoral Highness the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, and joyned our Armies: His Forces consisted of about 5000 Horse, and 13000 Foot, and Thirty Pieces of Cannon, all looking Brave, well Cloathed and Warlike; a finer Army not to be seen, according to their number: The Duke, with his Dutchess, and Two Brothers, with the great Officers and Ladies of his Court were with the Army: He is very short and crooked, as to his Person; he is about the Age of Thirty, his Face indeed is fine and comely: His Brothers, Prince *Charles* and Prince *Philip*, are both Tall and well Shap'd Gentlemen;

tlemen; His Court was exceeding Splendid: Beſides his Guards, he hath an hundred *French* Gentlemen Refugees, all well Mounted and Clad in Scarlet, with a broad Gold Lace on the Seams, every one looking like a Captain; They are called his Grand Muſqueteers, and always attend his Perſon: He had alſo with him ſeveral Miniſters of Forraign Princes; amongſt others, was the Honourable Mr. *Johnſon*, Envoy from the Court of *England*. Here it was that Prince *Waldeck* received a Letter from our King, that he was Conqueror at the *Boyne*, and was immediately going to Beſiege *Lymerick*; and hoped to be with us at the head of our Army in Twenty days; upon which news, the *Engliſh* Envoy made a moſt ſplendid Feaſt for the Duke and his Dutcheſs, Prince *Waldeck*, and all the Generals and great Officers of the whole Army: Where the General made the news publick, and was ſeconded with Drinking of Healths, Huzza's, Drums, Trumpets, and Ho-boys.

Our Army now conſiſted of nigh 45000 Fighting Men: We had no Talk among us now, but of Victory and Conqueſt; all Officers fitting and preparing for a Battle, by ſending all the Baggage they could conveniently ſpare into the Neighbouring Towns, that ſo we might ſpeedily advance towards the Enemy, who were not above Eight Leagues from us: And, 'twas ſaid, the *Brandenburghers* had received Orders, neither to give nor take Quarter: From hence we removed, and Encamp'd at a place called *Genap*: In this place we ſtaid about ſix days; and, on the *Sunday*, which was the day before we Decamp'd, all the Chaplains of the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* received Orders to have particular Prayers and Sermons on the occaſion of the King's Victory in *Ireland*; and 'twas appointed a day of Rejoycing throughout the whole Army. Here it was that I ſaw the Order of a Triumph in a Field, much beyond any that is poſſible to be repreſented in

in the moſt Pompous Cities. On the *Sunday* Evening, a little before Sun-ſet, the whole Army was compleatly drawn up in Battle-Array, in Two Lines, the Horſe on the Right and Left, in exact Order, with Trumpets ſounding, Drums beating, and Colours flying: The Prince, and the other Generals of the Army riding up and down, and giving particular Orders of the Time and Signals punctually to be obſerved; ſo that at the ſhutting up of the day, that the Action might look more terrible Comely, after the Firing of Seventy Pieces of Cannon, there was a running Fire, which look'd but as one continued Volley, or rather a long rolling Clap of Thunder, through both Lines, beginning on the Right of the firſt Line, till it came there about again to the ſecond. This was done three times with Cannon and Volley, which ſeem'd to rend the very Skies, and made the Earth to tremble; inſomuch as the Enemy might eaſily hear the ſound, and judge of the Triumph; after which we Camp'd our Arms, made the Night a Feſtival, by plentiful Suppers, Drinking of the King and Queens Healths, and the Grandees of the Army with Huzza's and Muſick.

Here it was that we firſt heard of another Victory gained by the *French* under Monſieur *Catinat*, againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, and Papers Printed at *Bruſſels* were Sold up and down the Army, of the manner and method of Monſieur *Luxenburgh*'s ſending Expreſſes to the *French* King of his Fortune in *Flanders*: He had with him in his Army, one of the Sons of the Famous Marqueſs *d' Boufflers*, who was one of the *Dauphin*'s Generals at that time on the *Rhine*; to him he gave the ſecond Honour, by ſending of him firſt to *Verſaile*; and he was ordered to ſpeak to the King no more than theſe words,

Sir, *They who Fight in your Name cannot chuſe but Conquer: Your Victorious Genius, Reigns throughout the World: Your Army,*

my, with Monſieur Luxenburgh, *has beaten the* Dutch: *The Grand Prior is at hand to relate the Particulars; and among the reſt, will forget to tell your Majeſty, That he is an Honour to War, and one of the Braveſt Men in the World.*

From hence we advanced about Three Leagues towards the Enemy, to a place called *Segnioria de Boſch*, or *Our Lady of the Woods*; here we ſtayed about four or five days; and here was the firſt place that our Talks of a ſpeedy Battle began to abate, and the Grandees to diſagree in their former Reſolutions. Not much above two Miles from this Place is a pleaſant little City called *Nivelle*: 'Tis walled round according to the Ancient Fortification; but if 'twere Modern, it would ſignifie nothing, for it lyes in a Bottom, and there are high Hills looking over it on every ſide: In this place are the Church and Cloyſters of the Famous Lady's *Canoneſſes*, of the Order of St. *Gertrude*, who was a Daughter of the Ancient and Noble Family of *Triſnie*, who firſt ſettled this Order, and Endowed it with large Revenues; and no Woman can be Canoneſs here unleſs Nobly Born: They have no Confinement but to Sing their Prayers four times a day; they may Walk or go Abroad, Converſe with Men, and Marry if they like, but when Married, like Fellows of our Colleges, they loſe their Collegiate Stipend: They are dreſſed, as to the fore Parts, all Topping and Modiſh; their Habit is a white Veil hanging from the hinder part of the Head down to the Middle, and a long Robe faced with rich Furrs, which they may put off if they pleaſe when they come from Chappel: When in our Marches at any time we come nigh this Place, multitudes of the Gentry of the Army flock here, to hear them Sing at their Devotion, and to drink Wine in their Tavern, which they have within the Gate of their Cloyſters, where, by Servants appointed, Wine, as *Champaign* and *Rheniſh*, is ſold by Retail, as part of their Revenue.

From

From our *Lady of the Woods* we Marched next to a little Town called *Noſtre Dame*, or *Our Lady of Hall*; here was the Head Quarters of the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, and Prince *Waldeck* had his at a place called *Lambeck*: This was a ſtrong Paſs, and by our Encamping there, an hindrance of the Enemies making Excurſions into any of the adjacent parts of the Country: Here our Army was encreas'd to a vaſt bigneſs; for at this Camp we joyn'd the Forces of *Caſtanaga*; ſo that our Army reach'd almoſt five Miles in length, and was ſoberly judged to amount to nigh Six and Fifty Thouſand Men ſtrong. In this Camp we had very bad Weather, much Lightning and Thunder, and Rain for nigh ſix or ſeven days together; ſo that we could hardly ſtir all that while out of our Tents unleſs Booted.

The *French* lay Encamp'd at a place called *Leſſines*, not far from *Valenciennes*, with an Army very little in number inferior to ours; the great Plain of *Cambron* lay between us, from whence Monſieur *Luxenburgh* ſent word by a Trumpet, that he there expected to meet us: And, I am ſure, our General Prince *Waldeck* would have accepted the opportunity with all his Heart, but the *French-man* was Satyrical, and meant no ſuch thing; and had taken care enough to devour and deſtroy all the Forage that lay in thoſe Plains, and every where elſe before our Army; and there was no coming to them, with ſuch a Body as ours, unleſs we could come to them without Horſe or Waggon, or both Men and Horſes could live without Meat.

But however, this was not all which might hinder a ſecond Battle, the Confederates were at variance in their Counſels: The Elector, though he be a great Prince, yet he is but a young Man, and not very much experienced in the Art of War: Now, from the time that he joyn'd us, all Orders were given out at his Quarters; the Councils of War were held

held at his Court: And his Electoral Highneſs, as 'tis reported, is too much enclin'd to hearken to his General, who is ſaid to be now nigh Ninety years old, and to be too much decay'd in his Abilities of Mind, which were never very Famous; therefore our General went but ſeldom to Council, as loath to have a paſſionate poſitive Dotage to take place of his Oracles: Beſides, the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* was loath to venture a ſecond Battle, and it could hardly be agreed about our Poſts of Honour; ſo that after we had ſtaid here about three Weeks, and had made the Country look like a Deſart, which we found almoſt like a Garden, we Marched and came a little nigher the Enemy, at a place called *Wanbeck*; not far from hence, is the moſt delightſome Palace and Garden of *Enghien*, belonging to the Duke of *Areſcot*; a Place which Art and Nature have both contrived in a moſt Luxurious manner to make lovely, wonderful, and almoſt a Paradice; from hence, 'tis ſaid, the *French* King took his Pattern for his prodigious Contrivances at *Verſaile*. Here we ſtaid a conſiderable time, (I think above three Weeks) and having Eaten up all the Forage that we could poſſibly get, the Winter coming on, and the Rains beginning to fall, which continues uſually this time of the Year almoſt a Month together. The *French*, as well as we, thought 'twas high time to break up, which we did about the middle of *October*, within a little while one of the other: Thus our mighty Army, which was enough to Fight almoſt all *Europe* for a day, was broken up for this Seaſon, without any other Engagement, than that of Wind, Rain, and bad Weather, and we went to our Winter Quarters wet and weary: And thus ended the Campaign.

And here now we may ſee the great difference that is betwixt an Army, the Subjects of one King, and under the Command of one Captain General, and another which is

compounded of ſeveral National Intereſts, and under divers Princes which are not ſubordinate one to another; for the one is ſtill ready to *Moove*, to *Stand*, to *Execute*, even at the very *Nod* and *Sign* of their Commander, whilſt the others are diſputing about their *Poſts*, differing in their *Councils*, and endeavouring to promote their own *Intereſts* and *Affairs*; ſo hard is it to Order ſo many different Nations, to promote one common *Good* and publick *Deſign*. This is the only great advantage that the *French* have againſt us: That Force muſt needs be very ſtrong and vigorous which is ſo truly united. And I hope the Confederate Princes, from the miſtakes of the *Laſt*, will ſo order their *Councils* againſt the *Next* Campaign, that with one Heart and firm Reſolution we may *Early* and *Briskly* puſh the War upon the *French*; or elſe, I fear, little Progreſs will be made againſt ſo Skilful, Politick, and well compacted an Enemy.

Indeed, if the King of *Great Britain* had been able to come at that time that he deſigned to be with us, when he Writ to his General out of *Ireland*, and had Headed our Army, we might have made the Enemy look about them; for all *Diſputes* would ſoon be compoſed by a *Crowned Head*; and all the *Generals* would eaſily ſubmit to be Led on by a *Great Monarch*: And I doubt not but this will be our Honour and Happineſs this *Summer*; for we ſhall have an Army of *Britains* this following *Campaign* in *Flanders*, to the number of Twenty Thouſand Horſe and Foot, which, with the States Army, and the Reputation we have always wone againſt the *French*, will make a *Force* Formidable and Glorious; and if we are Conducted by our own *Warlike King*, we ſhall put Monſieur *Luxenburgh* to his laſt Shifts, notwithſtanding all his Skill in *Magick* or *Conjuration*: And indeed, this is the thing which the *French* King this long while miſtruſted: The *Wiſdom*, *Skill*, and *Courage* of our *KING*, when but

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Prince of Orange, always gave him a ſecret Concern; and he has bin heard to ſay, as I have been credibly Informed, *That he more feared the Petit Baron of* Breda, (as his Pride was pleaſed to Stile him) *than the Emperor, or all the Confederate Princes beſides.* Indeed, to our great Scandal and Misfortune, we have a ſort of People here in *England*, who are *Mutinous* and *Abuſive* under any *Government*, who are *Brave* and *Daring* at *Play-Houſes* and *Taverns*, but would rather ſee their Country turned into *Ruines*, than honeſtly Fight for it againſt an *Invading Enemy*: That rejoyce becauſe *Turks* and *Infidels* are helpers of the *French*: That value neither *Liberty*, *Religion*, or *Laws*, nor *Honour*, ſo their Pockets might be fill'd to ſatisfie their *Luſts*: Theſe are the *Enemies* of our *Brave King*; and would pretend to *ſully* the *Actions* of the *beſt of Princes*, by their *Impotent Railings*: but let them breath out their *black Murmurings* till *Hemp* will permit them to *breath no longer*: 'Tis impoſſible they ſhould hurt his moſt *Glorious Name*, which long ago has bin Famous over many Nations; and *Loved*, *Honoured*, and *Eſteemed* by the greateſt *Captains* and *Generals* of the Age. He is every where known to have all thoſe *Vertues* which tend to make a moſt *Renowned Hero*: He is *Juſt*, *Sober*, *Temperate*, *Wiſe*, and *Valiant*: He is ſuch a Prince as a *Philoſopher* would delight to repreſent to the World for a *Pattern*; and has not one *Quality* but what tends to the *Greatneſs*, *Proſperity*, *Honour* and *Reputation* of a *Chriſtian Nation*: He never ſaw *Fear* but in the face of an Enemy: He has often ſtared Death in the Face, even in its moſt terrible Poſtures; and has graſp'd at his *Laurels* through ſtreams of *Blood*. It is not to us alone, I mean to the *Engliſh* Nation, to whom he hath done the greateſt *Good*; The States General, the *Spaniſh* King, the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, with all the other *German* Princes; nay, the Emperor himſelf are all preſerved

by him, and do declare it to the World, by the moſt grateful Teſtimony, that they really are ſo: For if our late King had kept his Poſt till this time, and carried on his *Deſigns* with the *French* King, as he had contrived it; nay, though he had ſtood neuter, or only a Spectator, whiles the other ſhould pour his Legions into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, we ſhould ſoon ſee how like a *Deluge* they would run into the *Provinces*, ſwallow up all before them; and then what the *Neighbouring Princes* might expect, is eaſie to be imagined; our turn here in *England* would ſoon come after; our *Religion* and *Laws* would firſt ſuffer a *Convulſion*, and what might become at laſt of our Kingdoms in general, is eaſie to be gueſſed, when King *James* ſhould have truſted him ſo far. They are not only *Proteſtants* whom he hath obliged, but many other Princes of the *Roman Catholick Religion*: And His Excellency, the Marquis *d' Caſtanaga*, Governor of the *Low-Countries*, when he had receiv'd the News of the King's Succeſs in *Ireland*, was heard to ſpeak theſe Words with the greateſt Affection, *viz. That he was perſwaded, King* William *was Born to be a Scourge to the* French: *That by Him the Confederate Princes might expect Juſtice againſt the Grand Tyrant, and by His means a Firm and Happy Peace would be eſtabliſhed over all* Europe.

But among the other Bleſſings, which we His Subjects ſhall enjoy from Him, this is not one of the leaſt, That as He is a Valiant and Warlike Monarch, ſo he will raiſe again, among us, the Ancient *Genius* of true *Brittiſh* Valour, which was ſo very much decay'd to our great Diſhonour, under the Luxury and Eaſineſs of the Two laſt Reigns: For the Plenty, Riches, and Fertility of a Kingdom, conduce very little to its Security and Honour, unleſs 'tis alſo well ſtocked with skilful *Men of War*, and a good *Soldiery*: And that Nation hath the beſt pretence to *Riches*, good *Traffique*, an eaſie and free

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Commerce, and the most obliging Respects of *Forreign States*, who have the best Swords. Now, these Two Years of War, which we have had in *Ireland* and *Flanders*, have considerably stocked us with able Officers, and have so hardned and emboldned the ordinary Soldiers, that they are now pretty well fitted for any difficult or brave Undertaking; who, first when they were drawn into the Field, were fitter to have Nurses to attend them, than Officers to Command them. And, notwithstanding at present, the publick Taxes of the Kingdom, and the Expences for carrying on the War by Sea and Land, are burdensome and heavy to the Subject, which indeed are nothing to the Troubles of other Subjects beyond the Sea, yet I doubt not, but in a short time, we shall confine the *French* King to his proper *Bounds*, force him to seek Terms of Peace at our Will and Discretion, have our *Religion* and *Properties* firmly and truly settled at Home, and a free Trade and Commerce over all the World.

I come now to give a brief and cursory Description of the *Lower Flanders*, not in a Geographical Sense, but as 'tis the Seat of War, and a Place convenient for the good Living and Subsistance of *Soldiers*; so that those of my *Nation*, who have not yet been *Abroad*, and by the *KING* are Commanded to serve there in His Army, the *Next Campaign*, may not be disheartned or affrighted by the impertinent Tales of unexperienced People, concerning the condition of a *Low-Country Soldier*, that so they may be encouraged chearfully to go, and learn to be *Skilful*, to be *Brave*, and to *Conquer*, in that Place which is the *Nursery* of *Men of War*; and where *Wealth*, *Honour*, and *Glory* may be gotten by the *Valiant* and *Victorious*. The Countries of *Brabant*, of *Heynolt*, of *Namur*, of *Flanders*, are so Pleasant, so Fertile, so abounding in *Corn*, in *Flax*, in all sorts of Provisions, as *Beef*, *Mutton*,

Mutton, *Bacon*, all ſorts of *Fowls*, and plenty of *Cheeſe*, *Butter*, and the like; all ſorts of good *Beer*, and good cheap *Wine*, that a Man cannot propoſe to live better, or at an eaſier Rate, in the cheapeſt or fatteſt County in *England*, than he can in any of thoſe Places; ſo that I may ſay of it, what once the Famous Marſchal *d' Turene* Merrily promiſed to a Brigade of *Engliſh*, who had behaved themſelves well in the Army which he Commanded, *That he would March them to their Winter Quarters, through ſuch a Country, where they ſhould have freſh Cocks and Hens every day.* Our Camp can ſcarce ever be above ſeven or eight Mile from ſome fine City or great Town, where you may be furniſhed with all Conveniences that you can honeſtly deſire: Where the People are thick, well Dreſſed, and well Bred, and look ſo unconcerned, as if the noiſe of *War* had never come nigh them. The Air indeed in the Winter, though it lies nigher to the Sun than *England*, is ſharp, piercing and cold, though far drier than ours; but this may be born with, whil'ſt we have all Neceſſaries in a good Garriſon: But in the Spring and Summer, the Seaſon is ſo Refreſhing, the Temperature of the Heavens ſo convenient and wholſome for lying in the Field, that, bating the hazzard and danger of Battle, 'tis more pleaſant lying in the Camp than in any City. Very few Places in thoſe Parts are Rocky or Stony. The Soil is of ſuch a Fat and Fertile Nature, that it needs no Care or Pains of the *Boors* to force, or to dreſs it. In that Place, which by a long Camp is made Deſart, you ſhall ſee the next Year all ſorts of Grain in ſuch a flouriſhing condition, as if it had bin kept up by the greateſt Art, Skill, and Induſtry of the Husbandman: When the Seaſon comes, they but juſt turn up the *Earth* with a Plough, and caſt in the Seed, and they don't doubt of a plentiful *Harveſt*, if we don't prevent them. And whoever ſees this Country, and knows it well, muſt needs confeſs,

feſs, That Providence, in ſome meaſure, is Merciful to the Inhabitants, in permiting it to be the Seat of War; for elſe they muſt needs wallow in too great a Plenty, and become the moſt Wanton and Luxurious of any People under Heaven. They confeſs themſelves, that if they could have but Three Years Peace out of Seven Years War, they ſhould ſubſtantially Recruit, and be well enough contented: And indeed where-ever we March, or where-ever we Encamp, we have ſo great a Plenty of *Fleſh*, *Bread*, *Wine*, *Beer*, and *Fruits*, or what is deſired by the niceſt Palate, brought after us in ſuch Method and Order, and at ſuch Reaſonable Prizes, that I am ſure there could be no ſuch cheap living in King *James*'s Camp on *Hounſlow-Heath*, nor Eating or Drinking more wholſome and plentiful.

'Tis true, in this Country, every where, are abundance of *Apples*, *Cherries*, *Green Peas*, and the like, which our unmanag'd and fooliſh Soldiers, the firſt *Campaign*, eating greedily and unſeaſonably, were ſeverely puniſhed with *Fluxes* and *Calentures*; by which a great many of them miſerably Periſhed: But now all Officers are obliged, by a ſtrict Care, to forbid them the Eating of Raw-Fruits, and to lay out their Money in good *Fleſh* and *Broaths*, and to warn them daily of the ſad Conſequences of *Intemperate Living*: So that laſt Summer our Men held out *Briſk*, *Healthy*, and *Vigorous* to the laſt; and do live as well, if they pleaſe, with as much Plenty of good *Meat* and *Drink*, as they can wiſh or reaſonably deſire to have in their own Country.

Moreover, in theſe Countries, in Times of War, there are often opportunities in which a Soldier may raiſe himſelf to a conſiderable *Fortune*: He that takes care of his *Health*, that lives *Neat* and *Clean*, that ſtudies his *Imployment*, and is diligent in his *Duty*, lives always eaſie under his Officers, and has their *Love* and *Commendation*: And if he happens, in

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Service, to Survive a Battle, or a Siege, beſides part of the *Spoils* and *Plunder* of the Field, which may happen to his ſhare, he may often have his turn and tower of *Spoiling* and *Moroding* in the Country of his *Enemy*, in exacting of *Contributions* and burning of *Villages*, by which he may often get *Purchaſes* Rich and Valuable, as is allowed him by the Rules of War: But to conclude,

Our *KING* now ſits *Arbiter* in one of the moſt *Auguſt*, the moſt *Princely Aſſemblies* that hath bin known theſe many Ages; and if He ſhall be the fortunate *Inſtrument*, as I hope He will, in making of a *Peace*, or at leaſt-wiſe a *Truce*, between the *Ottomon* and the *Roman* Emperors; if He ſhall lead his own Army, next Summer, in the *Netherlands*, I don't doubt, but that the old hardy *German* Army on the *Rhine*, and ours on the other ſide, on the *Lower Flanders*, will make ſuch forcible *Impreſſions* on the *French* Territories, (which is the only thing they have ſtill feared) as will ſoon alter the Title of *Lewis le Grand*, and ſcatter the People that *delight in War*.

FINIS.

ADDENDA.

SInce my Writing theſe Relations, there has lately fallen into my hands, an Account of the Battle of *Fleury*, Publiſhed at *Paris*, by the *French* King's Order, which, among other things, gives the following particulars of the Slain and Wounded on the *French* ſide, in the Army Commanded by the Duke of *Luxemburgh*.

General Officers Slain.

The Count *de Gournay*, Lieutenant-General, and Governor of *Maubeuge*.
The Sieur *de Metz*, Lieutenant-General of the Artillery.
The Marquis *de Villarceaux*, Mareſchal de Camp.
The Sieur *de Sallart*, Brigadier-General.
The Sieur *le Roach*, Mareſchal de Camp.
The Marquis *de Soicourt*, Brigadier, and Colonel of the Regiment of *Vermandois*.
The Sieur *de Barillac*, Mareſchal de Camp.
The Sieur *de Fuſſac*, Brigadier, and Colonel of the Regiment of *Vermandois*.
The Sieurs *de Fanury* & *Tetu*.
The Chevalier *de Soiecort*, Colonel of the *Dauphin's Gens d'Arms*.
The Sieur *de Belleſouriere*, Colonel of *Piedmont*.
The Marquis *de Verderonne*, and
The Sieur *de Laubeſpins*.
With Nine Hundred and Forty Subalterian Officers.

General Officers Wounded, the Four laſt of which are ſince Dead.

The Sieur de *Vivan*, and
The Sieur de *Zimenes*, both } Mareſchals de Camp.

The Sieur *de Greder*, Brigadier General.
The Count *de Albert*, Son to the Duke *de Luynes*.
The Marquis *de Livarot*.
The Count *de Marchin*.
The Marquis *de Mouy*.
The Count *de la Solre*.
The Sieur *de la Riviere*.
The Count *de Seaux*, Colonel of the Regiment of Campaign, with many others.

They own likewiſe, That divers Regiments ſuffered extreamly in this Fight, and particularly the *Royal Piedmont*, thoſe of *Picardy*, *Normandie*, *Languedoc*, *Champagne*, *Vermandois*, the *Royal German*, the Dragoons of *Furſtemberg* and *Salbourg*, the Foot Guards, and the *Gens d' Arms*; there remaining of the latter (who were 600 before the Battle) but 175, and of the *Swis* Regiment of *Stoupa*, moſt of the Officers were Killed; they alſo own the loſing of Thirty Standards.

Some further Obſervation on the Battle of Fleury.

We muſt acknowledge, That the deſign of the Confederates was well laid; ſo that if *Boufflers* had been buſied upon the *Moſelle*, as it was contrived, either the Duke of *Luxemburgh* would not have ventured a Battle, or elſe he would have hazzarded the loſs of it, ſince it was only by Number that he got the advantage he had, and not by the Valour of his Soldiers. On the other ſide, it is to be preſumed, That Prince *Waldeck* would not have run the risk of an Engagement, had he been truly informed of the Conjunction; ſo that the firſt and principal cauſe of this Misfortune proceeded from this, That the Troops of *Brandenburgh*, *Munſter*, and *Newburgh*, were not joyned at the Place appointed, to divert the *French* Forces. There are ſome however, that will not ſtick to ſay, That if the

the Cavalry had done their Duty, as well as the Foot, the Enemy had been certainly Routed: But that was ſcarce poſſible, by reaſon of their over-powering number; it being apparent, that they were very near Three to One: By which means, as the *Hollanders* had no Relaxation, the *French* only Fought by turns, and never Charged but once, whereas the others were conſtrained to Charge Three times.

Then again, Beſides that the Number was ſo unequal, the place of Battle was no way favourable, it being a Plain of a large extent, wherein the *Dutch* Army was conſtrained to Fight altogether; whereas, had the Place been narrower, they might have formed more than Two Lines, and have had a Reſerve beſide, which would have, in ſome meaſure, ſupply'd the inequality of Number. In ſhort, not to condemn the Cavalry altogether, whoſe Fault perhaps would not have ſeem'd ſo great, had not the Foot perform'd ſo well; certain it is, that they were far more unequal in number to the Enemies Foot, than the *Dutch* Foot to the Enemies Cavalry; ſo that it is not altogether to be wondred, that the one gave Ground while the other ſtood firm; to which we may add, That they had to do with the King's Horſe; that is to ſay, with all the Braveſt, moſt Undaunted, and beſt Diſciplined Men in *France*. Beſides that, the *French* Cavalry had more Generals than the *Dutch* Horſe, which was a great benefit for the Rallying them, when they were broken; and which, without queſtion, was the cauſe, in part, that the other could never Rally again.

After all, we have many Reaſons to perſwade us, That this Victory was not ſo advantagious to the *French* as they at firſt gave out, and that it coſt them much more than they were then willing we ſhould know. 'Tis certain, they tarried a very little while upon the Field of Victory. And it is no leſs true, that they were ſo far from purſuing Prince *Waldeck* after the Fight, as is uſual, that he had all the leiſure he could deſire to make a ſlow Retreat.

All

All the Advantages that the *French* reap'd from this Victory, were only these, That they put their Enemies to great Expences to Recruit their Army; and that they maintain'd themselves in the *Spanish* Dominions, and exacted from thence most heavy Contributions; and which is more considerable, they gain'd time; so that the Campaign was too far spent, before their Enemies were in a Condition to attempt any thing considerable against them.

In the last place, some look upon the management of this Action, as a thing that shewed the fineness of *French* Counsel above all other. 'Tis true indeed, that they made use of their Garrisons to gain a Battle, and that by that means they supplied the smallness of their Number: But unless they were assured of Victory, this was a very imprudent course; for what would have become of *France*, had the Enemy proved Victorious? Her Garrisons would have been unfurnished, without knowing where to get more Forces to supply the want of the Slain. It was more likely that she might have lost the greatest part; and that the Enemy might have broken into the Kingdom, putting all before him to Fire and Sword: And therefore this Counsel of *France* will admit of no excuse, but by saying, they were assured of Victory.

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